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FROM: BONN

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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1579, JANUARY 23, 8 PM

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SENT DEPARTMENT 1579 REPEATED INFORMATION PARIS 509 BERLIN 500
LONDON 359 MOSCOW 190 ROME ANKARA ATHENS LISBON OSLO COPENHAGEN
THE HAGUE LUXEMBOURG REYKJAVIK OTTAWA BRUSSELS UNNUMBERED

PARIS PASS USRO

REFERENCE: POLTO 2045 TO DEPARTMENT.

1. WE ARE STRUCK BY THOUGHT THAT ALL NATO DELEGATIONS HAVE PRESUMABLY CABLED SPAAK PAPER TO THEIR GOVTS AND THAT IT MAY PREMATURELY SHAPE THINKING VARIOUS GOVTS WHICH UNFAMILIAR WITH COMPLEXITIES GERMAN PROBLEM. WE ARE SUBMITTING FOL COMMENTS TOGETHER WITH SUGGESTION THAT THOROUGH CLARIFICATION SPAAK PAPER BE SOUGHT AND FALLACIOUS LINES OF THOUGHT COUNTER-ACTED.

2. INTENT OF SECTION VII, WHICH SEEMS MEAT OF SPAAK PAPER NOT ALTOGETHER CLEAR TO US. FOR EXAMPLE, AFTER SUGGESTING IN PARA (3) THAT "IN OUR REPLY WE SHOULD CONFINE OURSELVES, FOR TIME BEING, TO PROBLEM OF REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY", HE GOES, IN PARA (4) AND (5) CONSIDERABLY BEYOND THAT THOUGHT. DOES HE ENVISAGE SUBSTANCE THESE TWO PARAGRAPHS AS PART OF OUR REPLY TO SOVS OR MERELY AS POSITION WEST MIGHT TAKE IN POSSIBLE CONFERENCE? IF ONE OF OUR AIMS IN ANSWERING SOV NOTE IS TO BRING SOVS TO CONFERENCE TABLE, THEN REPLY SHOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO PROPOSAL ON BASIS PARA (3); AND WE HAVE SPELLED OUT IN NOTE THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO AS FAR AS PARAS (4) AND (5), WHAT WOULD BE LEFT OF OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION?

3. IN PARAGRAPH (4) SPAAK SUGGESTS THAT "IF GERMAN GOVT

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- 2 - 1579, JANUARY 23, 8 PM FROM BONN
RESULTING FROM (FREE) ELECTIONS DECIDES THAT UNIFIED GERMANY
SHOULD JOIN ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, WE SHOULD OFFER SOVS TREATY
ON EUROPEAN SECURITY"; BUT FOLLOWING SENTENCE LEAVES UNCLEAR
WHETHER SPAAK THINKS WE MIGHT ALSO BE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO
EAST-WEST SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN ABSENCE GERMAN REUNIFICA-
TION SINCE IT STATES "OUR CONCEPTION OF EUROPEAN SECURITY
WOULD NECESSARILY BE DIFFERENT ONCE GERMANY WERE RE-UNITED."
MOREOVER, THERE IS IMPLICATION HERE THAT WHETHER OR NOT
REUNIFIED GERMANY JOINS NATO, WEST SHOULD AGREE TO "DEMILITARIZED
ZONE, SOME DISENGAGEMENT, CONTROL OF ARMAMENTS, SECURITY AGREE-
MENT BETWEEN NATO AND WARSAW PACT." THERE IS NOTHING TO BE
GAINED BY IMPLYING TO SOVS THAT IN RETURN FOR REUNIFICATION
WE MIGHT BE PREPARED ACCEPT THEIR CURRENT SECURITY PROPOSALS.

4. UTILITY OF SUGGESTION CONTAINED PARA (5), INsofar AS WE
ABLE UNDERSTAND IT, SEEMS QUESTIONABLE, AT LEAST IF IDEA IS
THAT PROPOSAL FOR CONFERENCE BE PUT TO SOVS IN THOSE TERMS.
WE ARE NOT SURE THAT SOVS WOULD REJECT SUCH PROPOSAL WHICH
THEY MIGHT WELL FEEL THEY COULD EXPLOIT TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE,
AND WE WOULD IN FACT BE "COMMITTING THE FUTURE" TO CERTAIN
EXTENT BY OFFERING TO EXAMINE WITH SOVS "WHAT MIGHT BE THE
FORM TAKEN BY A CONFEDERATE GERMANY, A DEMOCRATIC GERMANY,
A DISARMED GERMANY."

5. WHILE THERE MAY BE ADVANTAGE IN STRETCHING POINT AND
ASSUMING IN OUR REPLY THAT SOVS AGREED DISCUSS GERMAN PROBLEM
AS WHOLE (SECTION VUI# (2)), IT WOULD SEEM LUDICROUS TO
"THANK" SOVS FOR THIS, AND WE CAN HARDLY BELIEVE SPAAK SERIOUSLY
THINKS TONE OF LATEST SOV NOTES WARRANTS EXPRESSION OF
"OUR APPRECIATION."

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